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Benjamin Paul, working on compadrazgo in Middle America, abstracted two basic principles of the institution; namely, the intensification of previously existing relationships, and the extension or creation of new ones (Paul 1942:56-57). Mintz and Wolf see the variations of the principles of intensification and extension that mark the areal spread of ritual co-parenthood to be a reflection of socio-cultural change and economic mobility (Mintz and Wolf 1950:358).

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> In cases where the community is a self-contained class, or tribally homogeneous, compadrazgo is prevailing horizontal (intra-class) in character. In cases where the community contains several interacting classes, compadrazgo will structure such relationships vertically (inter-class). Last, in a situation of rapid social change compadre mechanisms may multiply to meet the accelerated rate of change (Mintz and Wolf 1950:364).

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Barrett's report of his 1909 field trip among the Cayapa indicates that only baptism and marriage were marked by compadrazgo (Barrett 1925:318, 324, 326). We are not given any information by Barrett about the identity of the god-parents, except inferentially, that they were Indian and not Negro. Neither are we told about the identities of the god-parents of successive

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distantly by marriage and who, for one or another reason, seek to intensify a weak relationship. The important relationship is between the compadres and not between the sponsor and the child.

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Baptism. Every infant must be baptized as soon as possible by the priest. The god-parents chosen for this occasion are always Indian. Although some say that it is best to choose them from within the family, others claim that it is best to choose non-relatives. There are no strong feelings one way or another; however, most of my material indicates a bias in favor of having relatives as compadres of the baptism. A statistical treatment is not possible as my data center primarily on the Río Camerones region and not on the Punta Venado group as a whole.

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For the baptism the parents, the god-parents, and the infant go to Limones. The ceremony which is done in the Catholic manner by the priest costs ten sucres which is paid by the father of the child. The priest is usually presented with a gift, such as a fan or a basket, made by the Cayapa. At this time no presents are exchanged between the compadres, although

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the father may buy a meal and some drinks for everyone. The compadres now address each other by the same terms used between compadres in the nail-cutting ceremony. When the child grows up, he calls his god-father by the term /padéna?ápa/ and the god-mother by the term, /padéna?áma/, and the reciprocal is /ihádu/ /padena, from Spanish padrino 'god-father,' áma 'mother' ápa 'father'/. Incest taboos, if not present before, are now extended, and the /ihádu/ may not marry any of the children of the god-parents. The relationship is marked by respect from all within it. From time to time as conditions seem to warrant it, the parties to the compadrazgo of the baptism gift each other with meat. Within a family each child will usually have a different set of god-parents from his siblings. This is a reinforcement of previously existing kin ties with a multiplicity of horizontally-extended ritual kin.

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Marriage. The Cayapa say that when one goes to heaven all of the souls there look alike. Everyone is the same height, and they all wear identical clothing. It is impossible to recognize the people

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never able to collect cases or to gather actual names, but some of my informants said that they had heard of people occasionally taking a new set of marriage padrinos. The feeling was that this could perhaps be done if the original padrinos gave their permission. In these cases, then, a person could have multiple marriage padrinos. It is most unfortunate that field work exigencies precluded following up these leads. In any event, compadrazgo among the Cayapa has shown itself to be a tremendously flexible instrument of societal ordering.

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Religion. The Cayapa are a religious people who call themselves Catholic and are considered to be Catholic by the Church, albeit, "Children in the Faith." They know nothing of the practice of confession and this is not expected of them by the Church. The basic tenets of Catholicism with respect to baptism, marriage, and burial in the Church are followed faithfully by the Cayapa. Within a few months of birth children are taken to the coastal town of Limones or Esmeraldas for baptism. Most marriages are sanctified by a priest, and within a few weeks to a few months after death a special mass will be paid for by the nearest Kin of the deceased.

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vicinity. It may kill people whom it encounters alone. The third soul, the bald ghost is dressed in white and remains by the grave. "In the old days, it would fight with its enemies, but nowadays this does not happen." The /kúme/ has the form of the body it inhabits, and it has the power of leaving the body during sleep, and of travelling about at will. In their travels, the souls visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends, and distant places. At these times the soul is in danger of being harmed by witchcraft; if the /kúme/ is prevented from returning to its body, that person must die.

In common with much of the Catholic world, the Cayapa believe that a deceased infant has not had a chance to sin and so goes directly to heaven as an angel; however, if the child had been conceived in sin, then they maintain that it is an abomination, and non-Christian. In this case they feel that the Christian thing to do is to kill the neonate, but the status of the soul of the infant is not clear. On the question of the immediate transit to heaven of the infant's soul, the Negroes are the authorities for the Cayapa. As an instance, the wife of Pablo Canalehu of Encanto, died

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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in childbirth, and the infant was born dead. No one discussed the condition of the infant's soul at all, until a group of Negroes came to express their condolences. They remarked among themselves that the infant was probably in purgatory because it had not been baptized. They spoke in this vein for about ten minutes until Doña Carolina, who is half Cayapa and married to the founder of the village of Camerones, noticed that the Indians were becoming disturbed at the trend that the conversation was taking, and she said that of course, since the child was only recently dead, it perhaps was not too late, and she took some water from a gourd and sprinkled it on the tiny body. There was a brief flurry of conversation among the Negroes, and the remark was made that "very likely the infant was in heaven now." At this, the Indians visibly relaxed.

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Funeral customs. Death is not a stranger to the Cayapa, and everyone can reasonably expect to attend at least two or three funerals during a year. The greatest number of deaths are of infants. In other age groups there are violent deaths such as men drowning, breaking their necks in falls, and being poisoned